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TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Editorial Notes	33
GENERAL ARTICLE	
Why We are Taking the Philippines	39
CORRESPONDENCE	
As Seen in Nebraska	41
Politics in Louisiana	41
The People's Forum	41
BOOK REVIEWS	
America's New Novelist	42
Public vs. Private Ownership of Municipal Monopolies	43
A True View of the Texas Ranger	44
Briefer Notices	44
Publications Received	46
About Books and Writers	47

CARDINAL TENETS OF THE PEOPLES PARTY.

Recognition of the Right of the People to Rule, *i. e.*, The Initiative and Referendum.

Creation and Maintenance of an Honest Measure of Values.

Government Ownership and Operation of Railroad, Telegraph and Telephone Lines.

Opposition to Trusts.

Opposition to Alien Ownership of Land and Court-made Law.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

CLEVELAND, Ohio, has been the theatre of one of the most remarkable boycotts on record. A bitter conflict was on between the Big Consolidated railway company of that city and its employees. The latter, for the second time in the brief

The Cleveland Strike and Boycott.

space of a few weeks, were out on strike, had gone out the second time on the ground that the company had not kept faith, broken the understanding which brought the first strike to an end.

With the understanding that there would be a redress of griev-

ances complained of and that were found after mutual conference to be reasonable, they went back to work. But no redress of grievances was forthcoming, the men back to work again the company refused to treat with them as an organized body, even as it had before the first strike, refused to hear their committees. It said in effect: Lay down your arms, organization, and then when you will be powerless to refuse such terms as we see fit to impose we will confer with you, not collectively, for in union you would have strength and find the power to make effective protest and resistance against injustice, but individually, for as individuals you must be impotently weak in conflicts with organized capital, powerless to register any protest that will be heard, any kick against oppression that will be felt.

And the protest so faint as not to be heard, the kick so weak as not to be felt,—and it takes a very strong protest and a very hard kick to be felt by organized capital,—cannot be effective. So the employees of this corporation, creature itself of organized capital but refusing to recognize organized labor, went out again on strike. Of course the populace who had conferred upon this corporation the right to monopolize the streets for passenger railway traffic, and in consideration of such corporation undertaking to furnish transportation facilities, were much inconvenienced, for as a consequent result of the differences between the company and its men such facilities were largely withdrawn. And so the populace having parted with an exclusive right to the use of the streets for supplying street railway facilities to a certain corporation and that corporation failing to furnish those facilities, had to walk.

THE street railways being thus unable, because of differences with their employees, to keep their contract and supply the populace with the facilities of transportation needed for their comfort, a very proper way out of the difficulty would have been for the city authorities to have taken these street railways and operated them. In this way could such authorities have guarded the citizens of Cleveland in their rights, protected them in the right to a certain use of the streets which it is true they had given away to a corporation, but on the sole implied condition that such corporation should furnish to the populace the means of using the streets in said certain way. The city authorities failing to take any such steps permitted a quarrel between the big Consolidated Railway Company and its employees to result in a trampling upon the rights of the masses of the people.

We need not let any question as to the rights and wrongs of this quarrel as concerning corporation and employees enter into our consideration here. The first plain duty of the municipal authorities was to put a stop to the trampling upon the rights of the populace, a trampling inseparable from this quarrel. The rights and wrongs of the question could have been passed upon and properly later. But the first thing that ought to be looked to is a protection of the public from the results of such a quarrel.

When there is a street brawl interfering with the rights

of citizens to an unobstructed use of the streets the first duty of the municipal authorities is to break up the brawl, arrest the participants, and after this is done and the rights of the many, in no way parties to the brawl, secured, take up the question of responsibility for such brawl, examine the underlying causes, sift out the guilty from the guiltless, or at least the different degrees of guilt where none can be held blameless, and mete out punishment to those meriting it. So we say that a proper regard for their plain duty should have impelled the city authorities of Cleveland, and without stopping to inquire into the differences between the street railways and their employees, to have taken over these railways and their equipment and begun their operation just so soon as it appeared that the corporation controlling them, and because of a disagreement with its employees, was unable so to do.

It is true that such a step on the part of the Cleveland city authorities would have been unprecedented, it is doubtless true that the taking of such a pronounced step in the direction of protecting the rights of innocent parties would have called down the wrath of the capitalistic press, been denounced as lawless and been followed by the inauguration of numberless legal proceedings against the municipal authorities who dared take such steps for the protection of the general populace, dared take any steps in such a strike crisis, and such a stoppage of traffic involving a suspension of the rights of the populace to a certain use of the streets, without consulting the representatives of the capitalistic interests. And also are we much inclined to the belief that the courts, as at present constituted, would have finally sustained such legal proceedings brought on behalf of the capitalistic interests and declared the action of the city authorities, taken to protect the interests of the multitude, lawless. Consequently the taking of such steps by the city authorities would have required some courage, even though it was felt the taking would be held eminently justified, indeed required by a regard for the plain duty of protecting the citizens in their rights, by all those whose views were not warped by long training in a capitalistic school. And this courage the Cleveland city authorities had not, or more probably they belonged to those whose view of things is warped by a long training in the service of capitalistic interests, so that the propriety of taking such steps, steps so unprecedented in our capitalistic era, never entered their heads. If it had and they had acted upon it the idea would have beaten its way into many other heads before the matter was settled. A practical object lesson would have won many to firm support of this way of protecting the rights of the multitude in street railway strikes, many who on first thought would scoff at the very suggestion, for the propriety, justice and multifold advantages of such course would be made so manifest by trial that men would wonder how it was that they had ever been blind to it.

It is true that such a course would involve the seizure of private property. But it is a well grounded axiom of law that the state has the right to seize the property of any citizen, any corporation, any person when it has need of the use of such property for the protection of the rights of the people. This is a right vested in the state, the municipality, and that comes ahead of any of the so-called vested rights of individuals. It is true that when the state seizes property in the interest of the general public, for the protection of the people in the exercise of their rights, it must recompense those from whom the property is seized for the loss that such seizure, permanent or temporary, may entail upon them. But the fixing of this loss and hence this recompense is an after matter to be determined by adjudication, and is not a thing to halt the seizure of property by the state when such seizure is demanded for the protection of the public. The first thing is to secure to the public protection in the exercise of their rights;

questions of damage sustained by individuals and consequent on the steps taken by the state for the protection of the general public are properly determinable afterwards.

So we say that the authorities of Cleveland would have been amply justified, aye, they would have only done their full duty if they had taken over and operated the city railways when the Big Consolidated Company failed to do so with any regularity because of a quarrel with its employees. There would have been after questions raised, questions of what allowances should be made by the city to the owners of the Big Consolidated system for the seizure of their property, and in the settlement of such questions many points would have been involved. But in the meantime, while the officials of the Big Consolidated and its employees were seeing if they could not adjust their differences, the rights of the citizens of Cleveland would have been safeguarded, they would have been saved from inconvenience and discomfort, they would not have been subjected to the infinite losses, petty in themselves, gross in the aggregate, consequent on the suspension of street railway traffic. Of course to have smoothly operated the lines the city would have to have done that which it would have had no difficulty in doing at reasonable figures, namely, employed the old employees of the Big Consolidated then on strike against such company. And thus running the street railway lines the city would have learned the profits of operation, the people would have learned the value of the franchises they had given away, how much better off they might be under municipal ownership, and the probable upshot would have been that the people, converted by an object lesson to a belief in such ownership, would have insisted on the city taking the place of the Big Consolidated for all time.

To many this proposition for settling strikes involving directly not only the interests of the immediate parties thereto but the convenience, comfort and welfare of the multitude may seem startling, and to narrowed legal lights absurd. But it is builded on natural law, the law of common sense and justice, the law such as a Grotius would teach rather than the statute law such as picayune lawyers may have framed or the law they may have reared on precedent in the interest of moneyed clients and conflicting with such natural law, the incorruptible, ever reliable sense of the great common people between right and wrong. And in time this law will be heeded, all statute laws that conflict with it will be set aside, all precedents that are not in harmony will be reversed, for the will of the people, who ever in the aggregate can be relied upon to pick out the right from the wrong, the just from the unjust, must prevail.

HOWEVER, we are looking into the future, though we firmly feel it is not a far distant future as some may believe, and it is time that we returned to say a word about some features of this recent conflict between labor and corporate power in Cleveland that make it remarkable. It is not to the more or less complete tying up of the street railway lines concerned, not to the deeds of violence that we wish to refer, for such things are commonplace enough. It is the extensive boycott growing out of such strike that we have in mind. When for the second time within a few weeks the employees of the Big Consolidated went on strike and to a great extent tied up the system that company made strenuous efforts to fill up their places and operate the roads with new men. And in this effort it met with much success, so much success that after some days it had cars running quite regularly over its lines. Without the aid of its old employees who went out on strike, with the aid of new men it was again operating its lines. In short, the strike was waning, on the first line the strikers were unmistakably beaten, by stopping work they had not forced the company to listen, much less give in, to their demands.

But public sympathy, or at least the sympathy of the great working population was with the strikers, and such sympathizers

began a boycott that ramified greatly. Not only did they boycott the cars of the Big Consolidated, refusing to ride on them and voluntarily putting themselves to much inconvenience, but they organized a boycott against all those who patronized the cars. The trades people, some voluntarily, some because of the fear of being themselves boycotted, refused to serve those who rode on the Big Consolidated cars. The marketman who sold to one riding on such cars was warned that if he continued to serve such customer none in sympathy with the strikers would longer buy at his counter, but would shun him as if his goods were poison, and that such would endeavor to keep away all other customers by warning them to withdraw their custom under penalty of being themselves boycotted. So a remarkable state of affairs arose. As described in a press dispatch "the head of a family who has ridden on the cars, or whose relatives, however distant, or employees, no matter how lowly, have patronized the cars, finds that the grocer, the baker, the druggist, the dry goods man all refuse to fill orders they previously hastened to take, or they raise prices fabulously. Barbers will not shave him, ice men give his house the go-by, the brewer's wagon passes by on the other side, the baker refuses to serve him." And so it went.

Here then was lawlessness; there is no use of mincing words. There was a general trampling by men on the rights of their fellows. A great part of the community had undertaken to penalize those who patronized the Big Consolidated cars, undertaken to ruin the trade of those who refused to bow to their imperious demands. It takes no stretch of the imagination to put such things down under

**Why Tolerate
Open Warfare
between Em-
ployers and
Employed.**

the law's nomenclature of conspiracy in restraint of trade and under the common law such conspiracy is punishable. And so were isolated proceedings brought against the boycotters, general proceedings were talked of. One policeman caused the arrest of the barber who refused to shave him; others brought suits for damages against the merchants who refused to sell to them. And no doubt all such proceedings would have been finally sustained in the courts if the waning of the boycott had not caused their dropping, for questions involved were passed on a couple of years ago by the United States Courts in the famous barrel stave case, when the boycott was declared illegal as a conspiracy in restraint of trade and the parties to such boycott declared subject to punishment as parties to such conspiracy.

Nor are we disposed, *per se*, to question the justice of this. The strike and the boycott alike are intolerable. Both fall but one step short of resort to actual force, both are meant to and do inflict damage and injury, not alone upon those directly concerned, but upon innocent parties. The settling of disputes between employers and employed by physical force, which can be co-existent only with slavery, is but one degree more barbaric than the resort to the strike and boycott as a means to forcing a settlement. There should be no occasion for resort to force in settling wage and other questions and such resort, and the strike and boycott is such resort, should not be tolerated, for such force cannot be resorted to without the infliction of injury and loss upon innocent parties.

BUT this is only one side of the question. On the other side stands the blacklist. And of blacklisting union labor the Big Consolidated Company of Cleveland was guilty. Indeed it was against this very blacklist that its employees struck. It in effect said to them: Before entering our employ you must leave behind all means of registering any protest against aggression, a grinding down of wages and a drawing out of hours to swell profits, such as we must heed. In a word, the Big Consolidated, the very incarnation of the power of organized capital, made war on organized labor. The blacklist, it said by its acts, is all right, for it is a means of sifting out employees who organize in unions for resisting our aggressions, a means of keeping employees dis-

united and powerless so that we may swell our profits by crushing them down, but the strike and boycott are all wrong for they are the means in the laborer's hands for resisting our aggressions. So do the corporate interests reason.

For our part we declare that the blacklist and the strike and the boycott are all alike wrong, and their presence in our midst a disgrace. Such things cannot be resorted to in settling disputes without inflicting injury and loss. They are weapons of destruction, nothing less, and government should provide the machinery for settling such disputes without resort to force and oblige the disputants to make use of such machinery, not by holding aloof, and leaving such quarrels to be fought out with such weapons as the disputants can command, drive them to the use of force, use of weapons in settling their disputes the use of which cannot fail to inflict injury on the community. And this machinery for effecting the settlement of disputes without loss, without cessation of industry, is the machinery that has been in operation in New Zealand for five years with the result that the strike has been banished and cessation of industry there, owing to labor difficulties, is a thing of the past.

How far, indeed, are we behind these New Zealanders who were so sore hit in 1893, that in order to save themselves from yawning disaster, they had to give serious thought to industrial problems, had to find a sound solution to live! But we are learning fast, yawning disaster that can only be avoided by learning may yet cause us to learn as fast as it caused New Zealanders to learn and ere long we may have our machinery for settling disputes which we have been in the habit of leaving to the arbitrament of force rather than the scales of justice, have our courts of compulsory arbitration, which must surely accompany municipal ownership, even as they have in New Zealand.

THE lagging of certain of our Republican Congressmen in pulling for an explicit gold standard declaration, a declaration on our statute books commanding the Secretary of the Treasury to redeem all obligations in gold coin, and not leaving it optional with him as now, to redeem them in silver if he choose, has seemingly caused the inauguration of a concerted effort to scare business men, who, without thought, pin their faith and their fortunes to the golden fetic, into demanding of Congress a gold standard declaration. Those who lag in pulling for such a declaration, and Senator Thurston of Nebraska is one of them, ask what is the use. They assert that for all practical purposes we are on the gold basis now, that the Secretary of the Treasury redeems all obligations of the government in gold at the present time and that the enactment of a gold standard declaration, making it obligatory on him to pay gold, would not change the practical working of things at all while such a declaration might serve to alienate some Republican voters who have a clinging, though rather vague and distant belief in bimetalism. So, say these laggards, business interests do not need such a declaration and as there are political reasons for not making it the matter ought to be allowed to slumber. But the response of the earnest gold advocates is that such a declaration is needed to safeguard business interests. Suppose, they say, a free silver Democrat should be elected in 1900! It is to be assumed that with him a Secretary of the Treasury would come into office who would avail of the option to pay obligations in either gold or silver, that exercising his discretion he would redeem the government notes in silver and so force the country onto a silver basis by a mere executive act.

So argue those men, gold Democrats more than Republicans, who are so urgently demanding a gold standard declaration of the coming Congress, and it seems that there are some prominent silver Democrats who are simple enough to believe that there is solid ground to this

**Foolish
Scarecrows.**

reasoning, for thus says Representative Livingston, of Georgia, ardent Bryanite: "With a Democratic President and a free silver Secretary of the Treasury, no legislation would be imperative to rehabilitate silver," * * * "for the latter could pay every indebtedness of the Government in silver, notwithstanding both Houses of Congress should be Republican."

But what kind of a rehabilitation of silver would this be? True, the Secretary of the Treasury might pay out silver on greenbacks and other obligations of the Government, presented for payment, and refuse to pay out gold—that is, so long as the few millions of free silver in the Treasury, viz.: the silver unpledged for the redemption of silver certificates, should hold out, for we don't suppose such Secretary would feel warranted in issuing bonds to get more silver dollars when he had plenty of gold, especially if he had condemned Mr. Carlisle for issuing bonds to get more gold when said Carlisle did not have plenty of silver. But while silver dollars lasted, he, a silver Secretary, would pay them out! We suppose he would, but we rather fancy that when such silver dollars became scarcer than gold dollars they would not be any cheaper.

Now some assume that it would be a great hardship on the public creditors to have these silver dollars forced upon them. But these silver dollars would be worth just as much as gold and the President could not of his own motion make them worth less. The only way to make them worth less is to make more of them, coin more, open the mints to free silver coinage, and this the President and his Secretary of the Treasury could not do without the sanction of Congress. All they could do under the law as it stands would be to pay out silver dollars worth just as much as gold, do something that the Bank of France does every day or so without causing gold to go to a great premium and putting France on a silver basis. France cannot be put on a silver basis while her silver coins, owing to restriction of coinage, are worth just as much as her gold, and neither can the United States. In short, without legislation by Congress, the United States cannot be put on a silver basis: without legislation by Congress the President that may be elected in 1900 cannot cheapen the dollar because the only way to cheapen the dollar is to increase the quantity, and this the President has not the power to do. Therefore the placing of an explicit gold declaration on our statute books is not going to put us any more securely on the gold basis than we are now. It is the restriction of our supply of money that has given us an appreciated dollar, and it is only the removal of this restriction, something that only Congress can do, that can cheapen our money to a greater degree than it may happen to be cheapened all over the gold using world by increased supplies of gold money.

SO THERE is no basis for the declaration of certain gold men that, in view of the possibility of the election of a free silver President in 1900, a gold standard declaration is needed at this time to safeguard business interests in the future. Such a declaration, they declare, would safeguard business interests, because though a free silver Democrat may be chosen President in 1900 it is almost inconceivable that the Senate should be wrested from the Republicans, and therefore if the Secretary of the Treasury were specifically required to redeem all notes of the government in gold on demand and it were not left optional with him to pay silver as now, such Democratic Administration, the Senate being hostile, would be powerless to put the country on a silver basis. But as we have shown it would be powerless with the law as it is for the silver dollars that the Secretary of the Treasury might pay out would be worth just as much as gold. Unless there were a Congress friendly in both branches, ready to pass laws providing for the making of more and hence cheaper dollars, such Administration could do nothing towards giving the country a cheaper money standard, and if there were such a Congress the acts of

any present Congress aimed to fix the country firmly on a gold basis would amount to little for what one Congress can do a following can undo.

MR. BRYAN and his partisans can have extracted little comfort from the events of the past few days. The Maryland Democratic Convention meets to ignore the monetary **Bryan Setbacks**, question entirely and name avowed gold men for the places on the state ticket from Governor down; the Democratic State Committee of New Jersey is called together and fills up a vacancy on the committee with a gold man, thus showing in whose hands the party machinery is; prominent Democrats meet for conference at Saratoga, New York, a conference assembled to devise means for side tracking Mr. Bryan and the silver issue, and to that conference go some whom Mr. Bryan has counted upon as his friends, as well as many who have been his pronounced opponents.

But more disquieting than all, from a Bryan standpoint, for no sensible man looked for anything else in Maryland or New Jersey than that which has happened, is the **His troubles in Kentucky.** upturn in Kentucky. Precipitately and unwisely as it turns out, Mr. Bryan threw in his lot with Mr. Goebel, who was an active gold Democrat early in 1896, who flopped to silver with his party, who is not trusted by the earnest silver Democrats of Kentucky and is regarded by the gold men as a renegade. But he won, through a fraudulent seating of delegates it does appear, the nomination of the Democratic convention for Governor, and Mr. Bryan wrote a letter to Kentucky urging all good Democrats to sink their differences and fall in to the support of the regular nominee. This was asking his warmest supporters in the state to condone dishonesty and fraud, something that self-respecting men could not do. And so Mr. Bryan wrought up his friends. He doubtless would like to have drawn his foot out if he could, but he had planted it and it was too late.

The independent Democrats refusing to follow the Goebel ticket, refusing to recognize it as regular, met to the number of several hundred in Louisville and called a convention for August 16th, after adopting resolutions declaring that Major Johnston, one of their number and the old state chairman, is still the Chairman of the Democratic State Central Committee and that the party emblem belongs to the silver faction and not the Goebel men. Besides did these Democrats in conference announce their trust in the leadership of Mr. Bryan. But now they declare that if Mr. Bryan does not withdraw his endorsement of the Goebel candidacy that they will, when they meet in state convention, repudiate him as national leader and put forward their own fellow citizen, ex-Governor Brown, for the presidential nomination. And on the other hand, the Goebel leaders let Mr. Bryan distinctly understand that if he does not live up to his promises and stand by them he need not count upon them to stand by him in the national convention, whereupon the silver men chime in that the Goebelites would not do so anyhow, that they are simply playing Mr. Bryan, that if the state machine is not redeemed from Goebel control the Kentucky delegation to the 1900 convention will be anti-Bryan.

And so Mr. Bryan is in a dilemma. For our part we see no prospect of the control of the Democratic machine being taken away from Goebel before 1900, even though he be defeated for Governor this fall as is most probable; this machine will name the Kentucky delegation, this delegation Mr. Bryan wants and this delegation the Goebelites promise him on one condition, namely, that he help them against his true friends. To this condition, we believe, he will subscribe, and so doing lose his true friends in Kentucky and then be sold out by his quondam ones.

IN THIS connection we would also direct the attention of

Mr. Bryan, his friends and his enemies, and above all those who see the only hope of the Republic in the downfall of both old parties and the triumph of a new, to the action of the Populists of the Eighth Congressional District, of Missouri, taken in convention on August 2d. These Populists seized the occasion offered by their Congressional convention called to nominate a candidate to contest the Special Congressional election set down for August 29th, for the filling of the vacancy in the House made by the death of Mr. Bland, to again serve notice upon the Democrats that they cannot longer count upon Populist support, that neither Mr. Bryan nor any other Democrat can command that support, but may expect to find in the Populists most earnest and persistent opponents. Thus did they take pains to emphasize the fact that the silver alliances of 1896 are broken, that as Populists they could not again be traduced into making an alliance with a party wedded to plutocracy, as the Democratic, however earnest it might be in professions of having weaned itself from such tainted connections, that henceforth they could be counted upon to stand unwaveringly for the principles of Populism and give their votes to none but Populists. In so declaring themselves with an emphasis that cannot be mistaken these Populists of the Eighth District of Missouri have done their fellow Populists a service, have done that which repeated can but end in the breaking down of Bryanism in the Democratic party, the shedding by that party of its sheep's clothing worn to catch Populist votes and disrupt the only true and virile opponent of plutocracy, end in the splitting of the forces of plutocracy and the triumph of the Peoples party. Promising to make an active campaign and pile up a large vote these Populists named a worthy farmer, Hon. W. R. Hale, late member of the Legislature of Missouri, to lead them in this Congressional fight in "Dick" Bland's old district, and if we are not much mistaken in our judgment the Democratic candidate will not be at the head of the poll when the votes are counted on August 29th.

Of that part of the platform on which Mr. Hale was nominated and treating of national policies it is not necessary to speak, further than to say that it was thoroughly populist, but to other sections of the platform, especially the first two and a supplementary resolution dealing with party policy, we desire to direct attention. To this end we quote from the platform as follows:

"The Peoples party of the Eighth Congressional District of Missouri in regular mass convention assembled at Jefferson City, this second day of August, 1899, declares:

"First. That it reaffirms the fundamental principles of the Omaha platform, adopted July 4, 1892, and ratifies the platform and plan of organization adopted at Cincinnati, September 6, 1898 * * *

"Second. That it is unalterably opposed to fusion or alliance with either the Democratic or Republican party, and emphasizes its hostility to all co-operation or affiliation with either of said parties."

And then after having adopted the platform and hearing of the action of Kentucky Populists the convention added the following resolution:

"Resolved: That the Congressional convention of the Eighth District of Missouri sends greeting to the brave Populists of Kentucky, who have named a straight state ticket, and we approve their recognition of Barker and Donnelly as national candidates of the Peoples party until they or either of them shall be succeeded by a referendum vote, or trustworthy Populists nominated by a genuine Peoples party national convention.

WE HAVE already made reference to the action of the Maryland Democratic Convention in putting forward a ticket of gold men on a platform making no mention of the money question. But comparison between this platform and a platform put out by the Republicans of Iowa as assembled in state convention on the same day, is interesting. We first may mention that in general advance of the party the

Platforms of Iowa Republicans and Maryland Democrats Contrasted.

Iowa Republican State Convention of 1897 made a flat-footed declaration in favor of the gold standard, making no quibbling and insincere reference to international bimetallism or anything else, and this unequivocal, pronounced declaration the convention of this year repeats word for word. And on this issue, to which the Republicans of Iowa give first prominence in their platform—their experience of 1897, when such outspoken declaration in advance of their party cost them no votes, or rather seems to have gained them more votes than it lost them, encouraging them to repeat it—the Maryland platform of the Democrats is simply blank. And in this there is severe contrast, but when we look at the nominees of the Democratic Maryland convention and see that they are all gold men, one of them, the now candidate for Governor, having been so pronounced in favor of the gold standard that when he ran for Congress last fall the silver Democrats ran an independent candidate, which candidate failed to draw away enough votes to defeat him, we cannot but conclude that there is little difference between the Republicans of Iowa and Democrats of Maryland so far as this issue goes.

And then we come to another issue that the Democrats would make much of, that of the trusts. Now the Democrats would like to appear as the only anti-trust party; the Maryland platform rather makes this claim, but Iowa Republicans refuse to have it so. Thus while the Maryland Democrats "view with alarm the multiplication over the land of such gigantic industrial and commercial trusts, the outgrowth of Republican legislation, as stifle competition, threaten popular government, increase the cost of living and curtail the individual rights of the people, and favor vigorous measures by the states and Congress to repress this great and growing evil," the platform of the Iowa Republicans declares that "industry and commerce should be left free to pursue their method according to the natural laws of the world, but when the business aggregations known as trusts prove hurtful to the people they must be restrained by law and if need be abolished." Now between these two very carefully qualified anti-trust declarations it is hard to choose. One goes just about as indefinitely far, bulwarked around with ever convenient "ifs," as the other; both are equally indeterminate, meaningless, and judging from their structure, it is not unfair to say insincere. Indeed eliminating the reference in the Maryland platform to Republican legislation there is only a difference in wording between the trust planks of the Democratic platform of Maryland and the Republican platform of Iowa.

And then when we come to another great issue, that of the Philippines, what do we find? The Maryland Democratic convention denouncing the press censorship, declaring "unalterable opposition to the creation and maintenance of a large standing army in time of peace," and with these general propositions that will generally pass unchallenged contenting itself; and the Iowa Republican convention making some general spread eagle remarks to the effect that no man can be a patriot who does not support the President in a policy which has involved us in a war beyond our borders, the kind of a war that the Constitution declares only Congress has the right to make, which is to say that while in domestic affairs we may question the President's lead and still not lose title to the name of patriot we must in foreign affairs accept his lead unquestionably as if he were an absolute monarch.

Thus do the platforms of Iowa Republicans and Maryland Democrats compare, thus as we parallel them do we see how small the differences are, how many are the points of similarity, until we are forced to the conclusion that both are the servants of the same plutocracy, that both have the same aim: the fooling of the people in the interest of said plutocracy.

THE situation in the Philippines continues just about as unsatisfactory and humiliating as ever. To gain the good will of

the Madomedan Sultan of the Sulus we offer him a small annuity, which he doubtless regards as tribute paid by the trembling Republic to his Mightiness, and promise to let him rule in those small islands, inhabited by some of the most backward and at the same time fiercest of Philippine peoples, as he may see fit. And again, at the other end of the archipelago, in the heart of Luzon, do we find the Macabebes whom some of our commanders fancied could be induced to make war on the Tagals and help us fight our battles, insincere in their professions of friendship and assuming such a threatening attitude within our lines at San Fernando that General MacArthur, fearing for the safety of our troops from attack from within, caused all the Macabebes, men, women and children who had ostensibly sought protection within our lines from their supposedly inveterate foes, the Tagals, to be driven beyond our lines at the point of the bayonet. Also do we learn of a marked indisposition of some Washington volunteer troops to engage in a recent skirmish, they feeling that their term of service having long since expired they should have been relieved, and that being held in service they were being unfairly not to say badly treated, the result of this insubordination, this want of alacrity in responding to orders being the removal of a certain captain of this regiment.

But from Lake Champlain there comes a story that the President believes there will soon be an end to the resistance to our arms in the Philippines; that General Otis has bands of natives in his hire, scouting the enemy's country; that the capture or death of Aguinaldo is anticipated daily; that in the belief of the Administration his removal would put an end to the war. All of which story would seem to indicate that General Otis has to all intents and purposes, and with the President's approval, offered a reward for Aguinaldo, dead or alive. We wonder what the civilized world would say if Aguinaldo should offer a reward for President McKinley dead or alive? If we mistake not it would condemn such act as past condoning, for the idea of a barbarian offering a reward for the head of a civilized president is hideously repulsive. But for a civilized president to cause a reward to be offered for the head of a barbarian is a different matter, it is the only way to fight barbarians, and according to the moral code of civilized peoples who hoist the flag of grab and might, and follow it alone in their dealings with weaker peoples, it is all right.

Now this rearing of a special moral code by which we may shape our conduct towards peoples whom we wish to exploit, this taking of the rule of might for our guidance in dealing with weaker peoples while reserving the rule of justice for our guidance in dealing with the stronger western nations as if they alone are entitled to justice, is all bad enough from a moral standpoint. But from a standpoint of trade it is all wrong too. Of course, we may rob a people if we have the power, but if we proceed on such lines we can reap but one crop. We ought to learn that the only trade that can be lasting is fair trade which enriches both parties thereto. Trade that is robbery cannot last, for soon the robbed will be so stripped of wealth that there will be nothing left to rob and the trade must end, the reaping cease because of the exhaustion of the crop of wealth. If we would have trade last it must be fair, must be advantageous to all parties so that the trade itself will stimulate the production that must result in the replenishing of the crop of wealth that is reaped by the trade. Then such mutual reaping through trade and with mutual profit can go on for ever, each party to the trade growing richer therefrom.

Besides for a people to gather wealth by robbing another is enervating. Yet this is what some of our people mean when they talk of the opening up of China, and it is in this business, this

corrupting, enervating business of despoiling the Chinese, that our government seems disposed to protect them. These of our people go to China or send their agents to China to get some concession that would give them power to exploit the Chinese people, levy tribute upon them, by corrupting the all too easily corrupted Chinese officials, and then our government is called upon to step in and say to China that she shall not revoke such concessions. If our government would do towards China as it demands others shall do towards us it would pay no heed to such call. We say to foreigners who would invest their funds in America, who would come to America to seek their fortunes by developing our resources, our wealth, "you will be welcome, you shall be free to invest your moneys but you must conduct such development according to our laws, for protection in the enjoyment of the fruits of your labors you must be content to look to our laws, we shall not admit that you have a right to appeal to your own government for protection if you are not satisfied with the protection that we extend to our own people. In short you may lay claim to the same protection we see fit to accord to our own people; we shall not permit you, because a foreign citizen, to lay claim to any more. What is good enough protection for our people in their judgment shall be good enough for you. If you are willing to invest, if you are willing to throw in your lot among us under such protection, well and good, if not you and your money are not wanted."

Interference in our domestic affairs we have never tolerated; when our states have repudiated indebtedness, repudiated contracts, we have denied to injured foreigners any recourse save that open to them and our own citizens under our laws. Such is the treatment we have claimed for ourselves, such is the treatment we should accord to the Chinese. And by according Chinese such treatment we would gain far more than we can ever gain by denying them such treatment. Possibly some of our people may secure concessions valuable to them but injurious to the Chinese people by corrupting Chinese officials, and possibly they may reap profit from such corruptly gained concessions if our government arbitrarily denies the Chinese the right to revoke them. But there can be nothing solid and lasting, nothing of general advantage to our nation and people built on such a basis. If we would recognize China as sovereign in her own territory, let it be understood that when our people invest their money in China they invest it under the protection accorded by the Chinese Government, and that so long as that government accords to our citizens and their property the same protection that it deems just and proper to accord to its own America would have nothing to say, in no way interfere save it be to say that no preferences should be accorded foreigners over Americans, and that America would not stand idly by if other nations undertook to bring pressure on China, to force her to grant preferences to their own citizens to the injury of Americans, but would look upon the bringing of such pressure as an unfriendly act, and we fancy China would not be slow about granting our people trade and railroad concessions on a basis fair alike to our people and Chinese, and friendly, mutually profitable and therefore lasting connections would be reared such as can be opened in no other way.

THE Alaskan boundary question continues to give great concern to the State Department in Washington, and the Foreign Office in London. For our part we almost feel that an apology should accompany discussion of such boundary question, for such question was settled by treaty between Russia and England in 1825, there is no good ground for re-opening discussion over it now, and the Washington Government would be fully justified in putting its foot down and treating the whole matter as a closed question. The Anglo-Russian treaty of 1825 defining this boundary, declared that said boundary should be drawn north from the

Our Policy in China—What it is and What it Ought to Be.

The Alaskan Boundary Dispute.

Portland Channel along the crest of the coast range of mountains to Mt. St. Elias, whence it should follow a stated meridian of longitude to the frozen ocean. And further did this treaty provide that where the coast range of mountains was found to be more than ten leagues from the coast the line should be drawn at such distance, in such case all the windings of the coast being followed. Now as a matter of fact there is no well defined range of mountains within ten leagues of the coast, though from the waters of the Alaskan sounds it looks much as if there were. Consequently it is the proviso of the treaty fixing the boundary at ten leagues from the coast that has to be followed in drawing the boundary line, and so on all maps, following the "sinuosities" of the coast line, has the boundary line long been drawn. Further, the plain intent of this treaty, not only as implied by the context of the treaty itself but as shown clearly in correspondence passed during the framing of the treaty and published by Great Britain, was that the line should be drawn so as to secure to Russia an unbroken strip of mainland. And of course, to all rights of Russia we succeeded when in 1867 we purchased Alaska. Yet English papers now tell us that "the correct interpretation of the treaty of 1825 is one of those questions eminently fitted for arbitration," and they demand that the question of the Alaskan boundary be submitted to an arbitration tribunal in which a European shall have the casting vote. But it is too late to now question that interpretation of the treaty accepted by the British and Russian and American geographers alike for sixty years, unquestioned by Canada herself until a dozen years ago, acted upon in supreme faith by American settlers who located in the now disputed territory and who had no cause to doubt for a moment that they were settling in American territory, for that such territory was American was shown by all maps, proven by all accepted interpretations of the treaty of 1825, disputed by none and we cannot to-day, in good faith to those settlers, submit this interpretation to arbitration. By what may be called the statute of limitations, acknowledged as having force though rather ill defined in international law, the question is closed. As well might Canada declare her dissatisfaction with the Maine or Oregon boundary, draw a new line more to her liking, taking in American settlements, and demand that we submit the question as raised by the drawing of such new boundary to arbitration. We simply cannot afford to listen to such proposals.

WHY WE ARE TAKING THE PHILIPPINES.

HON. JOHN BARRETT, late minister of the United States to Siam, friendly student of the Malay races for five years past and but recently returned from Manila where, from the month of May, 1898, to March last, he was a close observer of passing events, contributes to a late number of the *Review of Reviews* a most clear and frank statement of the Philippine situation. Some little while ago, speaking in Boston, he attracted attention to himself by iterating the assertion that the Filipinos had been inspired to attack our forces by the espousal of their cause by a certain group of anti-imperialists in the United States, in the Senate and without, who strenuously opposed the annexation of the Philippines, asserted the right of the people of those islands to be free, assailed the policy of the President as one of injustice and criminal aggression and plead fervently that justice might be done to the Filipinos, that we might retrace our steps, pull down the American flag in the Philippines that it might be regarded as an emblem of right not of might, a symbol of freedom and liberty not of subjugation and oppression. And now this charge he reiterates while disclaiming any intention of casting reflections upon the honesty or patriotism of those opposed to a policy of Philippine annexation.

But what was there in the earnest efforts of the anti-imperial-

ists in opposition to the subjugation of the Philippines and the policy of taking and holding the peoples of those islands as subject races, what was there in the plea they made that the Filipinos should be accorded independence and the right to constitute their own government, what was there in the assertions of sympathy for their cause and declarations of a purpose to espouse their cause until justice might be done them, what was there in all this to inspire the Filipinos to make war upon us? In all reason there was nothing. Rather was such advocacy of their cause in the United States calculated to inspire them to keep the peace by inspiring them with the hope that when they plead their cause before the court of the American people justice would be done them and they would be accorded in peace what they demanded as a right. It was not the holding out of this hope, but the blasting of it, that inspired them to resort to arms. It was when they found that their appeal to the justice of the American people would avail them nothing, when they found that the American Government would not so much as receive that appeal that they appealed to the sword. And those who fought hard for the recognition of their rights, gave and demanded for the Filipinos a hearing, thus inspired them with the hope that their appeal would at last be heard and their demands, made in the name of justice, made in the shadow of the demands of our forefathers, would be granted did nothing to quicken the unsheathing of the sword, did much to stay the hand that was on the hilt.

It was when the Filipinos saw that the earnest efforts made on their behalf by the anti-imperialists in the United States and to prevent annexation would come to naught, when they saw that our government was resolved on the subjugation of their islands and that the anti-expansionists could not turn it aside from its resolve that they turned to the sword. It was when President McKinley refused to receive, even unofficially, the representative of the Filipinos, Agoncillo, refused to receive his appeal, refused to hear him plead the cause of his people, that the Filipinos, despairing of securing justice in the court of peace, a court deliberately closed to them by our President, were driven towards war. Nor do we much wonder that President McKinley refused to receive him. For how could the President have met the calm reproaches, how answered the appeals to our own history, how stood the references to our own ideals that that Malay would have doubtless made? Could he have brazenly avowed the truth, that it was greed that kept us in the Philippines, that we saw extension of trade in keeping them and that altruistic notions of the rights of man such as we had builded our own Republic upon should not be permitted to stand in the way of such extension, that our lofty principles are as nothing before the beckoning glamor of gold and trade? Such avowal Mr. McKinley could scarce have made. He, the head of an empire unrivalled in resources, in wealth and power, would have to have stood before the eyes of Agoncillo with the feelings of the criminal aggressor, with the uneasiness of a guilty conscience that no knowledge that the strong hand of might was at his back to carry through his policy could have relieved for an inner conscience would have whispered that might did not make right, and before Agoncillo he would have stood as the weak man, not as the strong. No wonder he shunned the interview.

At whose doors then does the fighting lie? Who inspired the Filipinos to resort to arms? It was those who, refusing the Filipinos a hearing, denying them rights that we had written in our own Declaration of Independence as inalienable rights of man, presented to those people the alternative of abject submission or war. And be it said to their honor that they chose war.

It was in May a year ago that Aguinaldo embarked on the McCulloch, then in the harbor of Hong Kong, for the Philippines. Ex-Minister Barrett went out to the McCulloch with him. "He [Aguinaldo] expressed admiration and love for America and Americans, commended their successes in the war

with Spain, and declared that he and his people wished to be our allies." And then adds Mr. Barrett: "At the moment, in line with general opinion in America and elsewhere, he probably believed that it was not the intention of the United States to hold the islands in actual sovereignty." So he was taken to the Philippines. What followed is best described in Mr. Barrett's words:

"The impression went abroad among the masses of people that Aguinaldo had arrived to establish an independent government and that the Americans would assist him. The actual working of his government under the guns of our ships was sufficient evidence to them of our approval. From one end of Luzon to the other spread the report that Gen. Emilio Aguinaldo, the exiled leader of the former revolution, had returned to his home under the protection of the ships of a nation called America, which had gone to war with Spain and would give them freedom and independence at once. These influences had a tremendous effect. Before Aguinaldo had been in Cavite a month he not only had more soldiers than he could arm, but contributions of large sums of money, with unlimited amounts of rice and other raw food supplies brought in by the people for the support of his army.

"From this time on up to February 4, 1899, the people from north to south in the island of Luzon, as well as those in the coast ports of the Visayan group, were educated to believe that they were to have absolute independence. The evidences to the contrary in the meantime became known only to Aguinaldo, his leaders, and certain portions of his army, and were not made known to the people. Here Aguinaldo may have first allowed his personal ambition to outweigh the good of his followers and the masses of population.

"The government which was organized by Aguinaldo at Cavite and continued first at Bakor and later at Malolos, developed into a much more elaborate affair than its most ardent supporters had originally expected. By the middle of October, 1898, he had assembled at Malolos a congress of 100 men who would compare in behavior, manner, dress and education with the average men of the better classes of other Asiatic nations, possibly including the Japanese. These men, whose sessions I repeatedly attended, conducted themselves with great decorum and showed a knowledge of debate and parliamentary law that would not compare unfavorably with the Japanese Parliament. The executive portion of the government was made up of a ministry of bright men who seemed to understand their respective positions. Each general division was subdivided with reference to practical work. There was a large force of under secretaries and clerks, who appeared to be kept very busy with routine labor.

"The army, however, of Aguinaldo was the marvel of his achievements. He had over twenty regiments of comparatively well-organized, well-drilled and well-dressed soldiers, carrying modern rifles and ammunition. I saw many of these regiments executing not only regimental, but battalion and company drill with a precision that astonished me. Certainly as far as dress was concerned the comparison with the uniform of our soldiers was favorable to the Filipinos. They were officered largely, except in the higher positions, with young men who were ambitious to win honors and were not merely show fighters.

"Along with the army there was a Red Cross Association, at the head of which were Aguinaldo's mother and wife. There were quartermaster and commissariat departments which were well equipped, in view of the lack of experience of the men in charge. The American who thinks for a moment that we were or have been fighting a disorganized force labors under great error. It would be difficult to imagine the army of any European country being in better shape to fight us than that of Aguinaldo at the time of the outbreak of February 4th, with the conditions of climate and country favoring them."

And these are the people we declare are unfit for self-government, though in justice to Mr. Barrett it must be said that he does not seem to share this opinion, for he says: "When I consider how well, in view of all conditions, the Siamese are governing their little country, and are really making decided progress, and when again I see how prosperous the Malay protected states are, judging from my own personal study of these countries, I do not see any reason why a large proportion of the responsible positions in the government of the Philippines should not be held by leading Filipinos," or, reading between the lines: I do not see

any reason why the Filipinos, who are of the same race as the Siamese, should not succeed in governing themselves as well. Yet Mr. Barrett is opposed to giving the Filipinos the chance, he insists that we should hold the islands, assert our sovereignty over them. Not indeed that he fears the Filipinos could not maintain order and constitute a stable government if left to themselves, not on the plea that we must stay in the Philippines and rule over the people to save them from themselves, save them from the throes of anarchy, for this plea could scarce be advanced by one who was so impressed with the Filipinos as to write that "it would be difficult to imagine the army of any European country being in better shape to fight us than that of Aguinaldo at the time of the outbreak on February 4th," but on the plea that we ought to stay in those islands for our own good. It is because the Philippines are a desirable bit of land for a nation bent on exploiting other peoples to hold, for this and for no other reason that we are taking the Philippines, making war on the people to subjugate them to our rule.

The plea that we are staying in the Philippines to prevent anarchy is exploded. Rather have we brought anarchy into those islands. Mr. Barrett gives us ample evidence of the truth of the statement that the Tagals would have been abundantly able to have maintained order if we had left them to themselves. He also is very frank in avowal of the real reasons that prompt us to take the Philippines. It is because they are rich and tempting to the exploiter, because "no section of the great continent of Asia or any portion of the world of similar area still undeveloped offers such wide opportunities for the investment of capital in various enterprises," because "after traveling from one end to the other of Nippon, the principal island of Japan, and comparing what I saw of its resources with what I have seen of the island of Luzon, I can say that in every respect, aside from mere area and population, the comparison is in favor of Luzon," because "the United States should develop a foreign trade in the Philippine islands within the next fifteen years of \$100,000,000."

That is why we are taking the Philippines; because our expansionists believe them a valuable part of the world to have and so we are going to have them regardless of the rights of the inhabitants, going to take them because we have the might to take. When a man commits wanton murder we may be sure there is some motive behind it. And so are there motives for nations' crimes; and in our case that motive is greed.

Personally Conducted Tourist Excursions to California Without Change of Cars.

Leaving Washington every Tuesday and Friday at 11:15 A. M., the Southern Railway operates personally conducted tourist excursions to San Francisco without change of cars, conductors or porters. The route is through Atlanta, Montgomery, New Orleans, Houston, San Antonio, New Mexico, Arizona and Southern California. The cars are the very latest pattern of Pullman tourist sleepers, rosewood finish, have high back seats, upholstered in rattan, are sixteen section, supplied with linen, etc., same as standard sleepers, lighted by Pintsch gas, have wide vestibules, double sash roller curtains, lavatory and smoking room for gentlemen and two retiring rooms for ladies.

Three and one-half days to Mexico and Arizona, four days to Los Angeles and Southern California, and five days to San Francisco. Such service for trans-continental travel has never before been offered.

The tourist car fare is less than via any other route, effecting a saving of \$25.00 to \$30.00 for the trip.

All information, maps and rates furnished on application to Charles L. Hopkins, District Passenger Agent, Southern Railway Company, 828 Chestnut street, Philadelphia.—*Adv.*

Health for Ten Cents.

Cascarets make the bowels and kidneys act naturally, destroy microbes, cure headache, biliousness and constipation. All druggists.—*Adv.*

AS SEEN IN NEBRASKA.

Editor of THE AMERICAN:

The country is in a condition ripe for aggressive action that ought to be taken now. I think this fall campaign will make developments.

Some movement ought to be in the field to show that Bryan is not true—if he were he would have gone to the St. Louis convention and harmonized with the reform people. His action in abstaining himself from Populists and only recognizing the Democratic party shows his bad faith in Populism.

Bimetallism should be shown to be simply the creating of a silver trust. If we want more money, why not issue Treasury notes? Because there is no plutocratic capital behind that proposition to push it. The issuing of U. S. Treasury notes would be coining the entire resources of the country with comparatively no expense. Such notes would become the commercial blood of the nation, government bills of exchange. This would afford some relief to the country. The free coinage of silver would create a silver trust to join hands with a gold trust and double the strength of a coin trust. Interest and redemption would remain the same.

The people's cause has been disorganized and destroyed by Bryanism. Why should the people trust Bryan farther? Again I must say that the probabilities are that the ticket nominated at Cincinnati is all that there is left of the Peoples party, and but for those nominations there might not have ever been any nominations at all.

Forty men can, if they will organize right, put the Peoples party on its feet in twelve months, but they must advance. We have fought up to our skirmish line and we stand waiting for stragglers to come up and tread us out of our position. We must advance on a defined line of action and make the fight so hot that traitors and cowards will go to the rear. We are "waiting for the signal;" we must have the signal, and go.

I think we can defeat fusion in Nebraska this fall, notwithstanding the call for fusion conventions. To this end I am devoting my attention. After that I look for the fight to wax warm. We have one paper here in Nebraska that carries the Cincinnati ticket, *The Last Hope of the Republic*, published at Lincoln.

Let us thank God that we have a standard to rally to subject to the referendum. Let every true Populist paper raise the Cincinnati ticket and rally around it as the Angels rally around God's Throne. Let us stand by the men that were brave enough and patriotic enough to accept a forlorn hope, to save an organization of a million and a half of men from destruction by treason and assassination.

The people must do this; it cannot be done by the candidates themselves.

Rally all along the line. We will redeem Nebraska or we will bury it with the Seminole chief that "swam the sea of slaughter till he sank beneath its waves."

North Platte, Nebraska.

LUCIEN STEBBINS.

POLITICS IN LOUISIANA.

Editor of THE AMERICAN:

The Democratic party in this state is split wide open, one faction being led by Senator Don Caffrey, goldite, who presided over the Indianapolis Convention that nominated the Palmer and Buckner ticket, the other led by the present de facto Governor, Murphy Foster, who is now serving his second term without ever having been elected to the office of Governor.

The Caffreyites claim to be making war on Foster's counting machine by which defacto Governors are being made here to order, and, in fact, which is used to fill every office in the state, from constable up, with fraudulent material.

Senator Caffrey is very able, and he has a strong case against Foster, who is the most unscrupulous manipulator of the machine we have ever had in this state. But the Senator is unpopular because of his financial views, and his course in the last national campaign, and he may not be able to weaken the corruptionists as much as could be desired. However, dissensions in the camp of the fraudites opens the way for the Populists to do something. Light begins to dawn for the people, who are getting very tired of the Democratic-Republican see-saw, and we hope to be able next year to repeat the history of 1860 in both state and national elections. At the rate dissensions are growing in old party ranks this now appears to be the probable event in 1900.

Baton Rouge, La.

J. T. HOWELL.

THE PEOPLE'S FORUM.

WE organized our county into district clubs recently, and will cast our vote solid for Barker and Donnelly at the proper time. If cotton brings no better price this season than last there will be no hope for the farmer. Bankruptcy will be at all our doors.

B. F. LEE, Thomaston, Ga.

I WANT to tell you of my appreciation of the stand THE AMERICAN is taking and the work it is doing. I believe that the acts of the government in regard to expansion and imperialism deserve the rebuke of every lover of our country. Our party work seems to be making some progress. There is plenty of agitation of reform measures but hardly enough unity of action to please me. Populists are few here in poor plutocracy-ridden Maine, but the few that there are of us have hearts "for any fate" and have learned to "labor and to wait."

VIRGIL P. HALL, Mayfield, Me.

ALL Populists that we have met favor Barker and Donnelly for President and Vice-President in 1900, and will vote that ticket if it is the will of a majority of straight Populists. Yours for pure democracy until we win.

W. C. WILLIAMS, Utica, Ga.

THE real truth is fusion got in its deadly work in this part of the country. A great many of the so-called fusion Pops, or those who have been fusionists, are not to-day. They have become convinced of the insincerity of the Democratic leaders and are beginning to look upon Mr. Bryan as a man seeking office rather than a man standing truly and boldly for principle. But they evince no disposition as yet to come back into the Populist fold. The mid-rovers, however, feel that the proper thing to do is to keep up the organization as strongly as possible. There has as yet been no effort made toward organizing precinct clubs in this county, but I think there will be soon.

T. C. DALBEY, Frankfort, Ind.

OUR people have been very busy with their crops but they are getting through now, and we contemplate organizing precinct clubs over the county at an early day. We have one club of thirty-four members, twelve miles north of here, with prospects of many more soon. All Populists here are for the Barker and Donnelly ticket. We will have a state convention at Jackson on August 16th, for the purpose of nominating a state ticket.

A. BLANTON, Ackerman, Miss.

NEARLY all our people here are Populists, but don't know it, and lots that do are too cowardly to come out of the Democratic party. However, a more independent feeling is gradually taking hold and some of our strongest Democrats are coming over to the Populists on the question of public ownership of public franchises. Lots of the farmers in our state are fast approaching destitution and starvation. This is the only argument they will listen to, but they are thinking and informing themselves.

L. T. LEE, Zenith, Ga.

AS LONG as Mr. Bryan allows himself to be run by that machine known as Democracy, he need not expect the support of the Populist party of this nation, and more particularly of North Carolina. There is no interest in common between the two parties in this state. When the Populist party was in its infancy and the faithful leaders were making the greatest sacrifices to teach the laboring masses that it had for its object the elevating and the bettering of the condition of the poor downtrodden laborer, his wife and his children, the leaders of this same Democratic party were taking advantage of every opportunity to hurl the most disgraceful epithets and all kinds of threats at them.

But the common people were so determined that all this failed to cause them to swerve from the even tenor of their way, and the Democrats realizing that something else had to be done, at once changed their tactics, and to the surprise of the whole country and the disgust of many of their own party who were then and are now for a gold standard, stole part of the Peoples party platform and incorporated it into their own, thinking in that way to catch the Populists and free silver Republicans. But this scheme failed as might have been expected. I believe I voice

the sentiments of a large majority of the Populists of this state when I say that there can be no harmonious affiliation in 1900 between the Democratic and Populist parties. Their principles are too wide apart. For instance, the Democrats ask the people to ratify at the next state election, which will be in August, 1900, a constitutional amendment which would not only disfranchise the colored voter, but a large number of illiterate whites of the poor laboring classes, who, because of their financial condition, could not take advantage of school facilities. Our party will never join in a scheme to deprive fellow creatures of so dear a privilege as that of the suffrage, and we believe the people will rise in their might and give the Democracy such a rebuke in this state as it justly deserves.

R. A. COBB, Morganton, N. C.

Uncle Sam's Hot Baths. The Hot Springs of Arkansas, via Southern Railway.

Will eradicate from your system the lingering effects of the grip and other ailments caused by the severe winter, and malaria, rheumatism, neuralgia, catarrh, stomach, kidney, liver and nervous disorders, paralysis, blood and skin diseases, and chronic and functional derangements. The mountain climate of Hot Springs is cool and delightful in summer. One hundred hotels open the year around.

For illustrated literature, containing all information, address C. F. Cooley, Manager Business Men's League, Hot Springs, Ark.

For reduced excursion tickets and particulars of the trip, address W. A. Turk, General Passenger Agent, Southern Railway, Washington, D. C., or C. L. Hopkins, District Passenger Agent, 828 Chestnut street, Philadelphia, Pa.—*Adv.*

Florida Short Line.

The New York and Florida Express, via Southern Railway, leaving Broad Street Station, Philadelphia, daily at 5.34 P. M., carries through Pullman sleeping cars to Augusta and Savannah, Ga., Jacksonville and Tampa, Fla., via Charlotte and Columbia. This is the short line and most attractive route to points in Georgia and Florida.

All information cheerfully furnished by Charles L. Hopkins, District Passenger Agent, 828 Chestnut street, Philadelphia—*Adv.*

Steamers to West Point—York River Line to Resume Daily Service Which Was Discontinued in 1896.

Mr. Reuben Foster, President and General Manager of the Baltimore, Chesapeake & Richmond Steamboat Company, returned yesterday from Richmond, where he completed arrangements for the running of a daily steamer over the York River Line of the company between Baltimore and West Point, which is thirty-nine miles from Richmond.

The new schedule went into effect on Monday, May 15th. The steamer will leave the pier of the York River Line every afternoon, reaching West Point the following morning. Connection will be made at West Point with the Southern Railway, which makes the run from that point to Richmond in an hour and twenty minutes.

Officials of the company feel encouraged to resume the line of daily steamers between Baltimore and West Point, which was discontinued in the fall of 1896, because there are indications that there will be a marked increase both in the freight and passenger business over the line. At present there are only three steamers weekly over the York River Line between this city and West Point.—*The Sun*, Baltimore, May 5, 1899.

For rates, time tables, maps and full information write to Charles L. Hopkins, District Passenger Agent, Southern Railway Company, 828 Chestnut street, Philadelphia.—*Adv.*

L. A. W. Meet, Boston.—Reduced Rates via Pennsylvania Railroad.

For the Annual Meet of the League of American Wheelmen at Boston, August 14th to 19th, the Pennsylvania Railroad Company will sell excursion tickets, from all points on its line, to Boston at rate of single fare for the round trip. Tickets will be sold on August 12th to 14th, good to return August 14th to 20th, when properly executed before agent of initial line from Boston. Upon depositing ticket with city ticket agent of initial line from Boston, not later than August 19th, and the payment of fifty cents, tickets may be extended to leave Boston not later than August 31st.

Bicycles carried free when not accompanied by other baggage. Special arrangements for clubs traveling as a body.—*Adv.*

BOOK REVIEWS.

America's New Novelist.

Richard Carvel. By WINSTON CHURCHILL. Illustrated. New York: The Macmillan Co. \$1.50.

The publication of "Richard Carvel" marks the advent of a new master in the fertile field of American historical romance. Mr. Churchill as author of "The Celebrity" was not unknown, as the success of that book gave proof, but the Winston Churchill of that and former works is not the Winston Churchill of "Richard Carvel." In previous works, it is true, he had shown ability, humor and ingenuity far in advance of the great host of fiction writers of this and other countries, but until now no one of his productions would pass the test of time. Here our author has done an enduring piece of work of striking and decided strength. Taken all in all it is our mature judgement that "Richard Carvel" will take a high, lofty and at the same time honorable place in the pantheon of American literature. The book must be taken seriously. It is straight forward, asking no favors, fearing no foes. Mr. Churchill has that faith in self and ability to do that breeds respect and confidence in all quarters. He handles his subject with a master touch, calmly, clearly and with a simplicity that makes his story a truly broad and beautiful one. His knowledge of fact and life is no less than his perfect understanding and interpretation of the inner feelings and thoughts of man and woman. He is a splendid lover in that he has the ability of picturing at one time the consuming passion of man for woman and then within the breath describing the finer but not less real passion of womanhood. The heroine, Dorothy Manners, is a fetching and charming girl, but to our mind by far the most beautiful and lovable character in the story is Patty Swain, the noble, true and worthy daughter of Maryland.

But it is not as a novel that this book will live. Its real value is in the careful and excellently drawn picture presenting the contemporary life of the ruling and aristocratic classes of London and Annapolis. Mr. Churchill also gives a clear and vivid history of the growth of the revolutionary sentiment in the colony and of the painful lack of all comprehension or proper knowledge of the movement on the part of England's rulers. In this he carefully follows the historical data so recently brought to light in Sir George O. Trevelyan's valuable work, "The American Revolution." The description of a night spent by English worthies at Brook's famous club in London gives a fair idea of these people and of the times.

"The dinner was settled on the Bishop, who paid for it without a murmur. And then we adjourned to the business of the evening. The grand drawing room, lighted by a hundred candles, was filled with gayly dressed macaronies and the sound of their laughter and voices in contention mingled with the pounding of the packs on the mahogany and the rattle of the dice and the ring of the gold pieces. The sight was dazzling, and the noise distracting. Fox had me under his especial care, and I was presented to young gentlemen who bore names that had been the boast of England through the centuries. Lands their forebears had won by lance and sword, they were squandering away as fast as ever they could. * * * We mounted, some dozen of us, to the floor above, and passed along to a room of which Fox had the key; and he swung me in on his arm, the others pressing after. And the door was scarce closed and locked again, before they began stripping off their clothes. To my astonishment, Fox handed me a great frieze coat, which he bade me don, as the others were doing. Some were turning their coats inside out, for luck, they said; and putting on footman's leather guards to save their ruffles. And they gave me a hat with a high crown, and a broad brim to save my eyes from the candle glare. We were as grotesque a set as ever I laid eyes upon."

Turning from this distressing picture of debasement we have our author's exquisite description of the open-hearted, generous and happy life of the Maryland gentry before the Revolution, and his remarkable and graphic pictures of Charles Fox and John Paul Jones. Mr. Churchill while drawing up imaginary conversations and putting words in the mouth of Fox has most certainly presented the living and real Fox, public and private. In speaking of those opposed to Fox, Mr. Churchill writes of Edmund Burke, and takes time to magnify and applaud the wonderful eloquence of his orations, though we have it on the authority of Lord Macaulay that Burke's speeches were so dry and heavy in utterance and delivery as to cause members of the House of Commons to fly as from the plague.

Mr. Churchill's John Paul Jones is a striking one. He makes much of the famous fighter's ridiculous frailties without in any way belittling the man or offending his admirers and then shows us what he conceives to have been John Paul Jones the

man, not the commander. It is not our custom to quote imaginary accounts of a real character as it often does much harm in misleading the confiding reader into a belief that the quotation is an historical one. Still, the exception must prove the rule. Speaking of the sad home-coming of Captain Jones to the country of his birth and of his renunciation of Scotland and adoption of America as his country henceforth, Mr. Churchill, speaking through his hero, Richard Carvel, remarks:

"A hundred yards more and we came to the little cottage hid among the trees. John Paul paused a moment, his hand upon the latch of the gate, his eyes drinking in the familiar picture. The light of day was dying behind Criffel, and the tiny panes of the cottage windows pulsed with the rosy flame of the hearth within, now flaring, and again deepening. He sighed. He walked with unsteady step to the door and pushed it open. I followed, scarce knowing what I did, halted at the threshold and drew back, for I had been upon holy ground. John Paul was kneeling upon the flags by the ingleside, his face buried on the open Bible in his mother's lap. Her snowy-white head was bent upon his, her tears running fast and her lips moving in silent prayer to Him who giveth and taketh away. Verily, here in this humble place dwelt a love that defied the hard usage of a hard world. * * * The one never failing test of a son, my dears, lies in his treatment of his mother, and from that hour forth I had not a doubt of John Paul. He was a man who had seen the world and become, in more than one meaning of the word, a gentleman. Whatever foibles he may have had, he brought no conscious airs and graces to this lowly place, but was again the humble gardener's boy. But time pressed, as it ever does. The hour came for us to leave, John Paul firmly refusing to remain the night in a house that belonged to Mr. Craik. Of the tenderness, nay, of the pity and cruelty of that parting, I have no power to write. We knelt with bowed heads while the mother prayed for the son, expatriated, whom she never hoped to see again."

* * *

Public vs. Private Ownership of Municipal Monopolies.

Municipal Monopolies. A collection of papers by American economists and specialists, edited by EDWARD W. BEMIS. Boston: Thos. Y. Crowell & Co. \$2.00.

Prof. Bemis first sprang into national prominence in 1894 when, having publicly expressed sympathy for the strikers in the great railroad strike of that year, berated the capitalistic classes and their hired task-masters, the railroad officials, as largely responsible for such conflicts and far from blameless for the resulting disturbances, he was told, as professor of the Chicago University, that such declarations were inimical to the interests of the moneyed men, profitters from special privileges, who had founded that great institution of learning, that such teachings could not be tolerated and when, refusing to recant, he was given his dismissal. And then men began to wonder whether this splendid creation of Rockefeller and other moneyed men was after all a great institution of learning, whether it was not an institution founded to stifle progress in thought and learning rather than further a broadening of knowledge, an institution created not upon exalted philanthropic ideals but for the promotion of selfish ends, for the training and fitting of men to defend those profiting from special privileges, from private ownership of public franchises and monopolies, from railroad freight discriminations and other devices for extorting tribute from the multitude and who, perhaps, regard their donations to such institution as payments for the defense and perpetuation of the special privileges from which they profit so greatly.

So public attention was turned to Prof. Bemis, for he stood for a principle and fell a martyr to the freedom of thought that a great university would not tolerate for a fear of displeasing those with wealth to give. Thus the name of Prof. Bemis sprang into national prominence, thus was he cast adrift to gradually sink out of the public eye, be forgotten, for the world soon forgets. Finally he secured a professorship in the Kansas State Agricultural College then under Populistic management, a school in which, under this management, much time was devoted to the study of economic problems while an agricultural paper, published under the auspices of such college and therefore by the state, was turned into an organ for the spreading of economic truths as seen by the then state administration. But this administration has given place to a Republican one and the Republicans, once again installed in power, began an investigation into the State College which they charged was being run into the ground by partisan management. The students, almost to a man, however, and regardless of party affiliations, backed up the faculty, approved the management, and so greatly disconcerted the Republican investigators, who, indeed, could find no evidence on which to sustain the charge that the institution was mismanaged

and being run into the ground. Nevertheless partisanship had its way and claimed its victims and well may Prof. Bemis and such others of his profession as entertain like views feel that in proclaiming such views they are placing their means of gaining a livelihood in jeopardy.

As one driven out of Chicago University for his economic beliefs, for daring to express beliefs counter to those held by the great patrons of that institution, it is with the feeling gained of personal experience that Prof. Bemis writes that, "to attempt reform to-day in public regulation of private ownership, is to endanger one's position as editor, professor, preacher, attorney, or man of affairs, since the men who gain by existing corruption and degradation of government are the leading supporters of our churches, our colleges, and our business. Against such people reform has hard sledding."

But as fearful and threatening as is the frown and displeasure of the money mighty, all are not turned away from the search after truth and avowal of the findings; many there are who strong in the truth though weak in the pocket, have dared to invite that frown and the cause of reform has not been crushed but has progressed, until, as concludes our author, "the movement for municipalization in America, as in Europe, has gone beyond the stage of academic discussion," and "one can now admit a belief in ownership by the people of monopolies which concern the people of town or city, without losing the respect of either our wealthy or professional classes."

The view point from which Prof. Bemis treats this question of municipal monopolies will be gathered from the above. He is decided in his advocacy of municipal ownership, from such ownership he sees no dangers. The bugbears that men are disposed to raise give him no uneasiness. Because there is rottenness in municipal governments, because there is unsteady flight in the direction of good government, he sees no reason for the clipping of the wings of municipal governments, restriction of their powers. Rather does he see in this reason for extending their powers, broadening their wings that they may fly steadier. And then he quotes Mr. Chas. Richardson, of this city, to the effect that:

"As the character of every Republican government must depend, in the last analysis, upon the active interest of the voters, it is obvious that every lease or agreement which ties the hands of a local government, and lessens its ability to serve and protect the voters, must tend to diminish their interest in supporting or improving it. While it is not possible to strip a city government so entirely of power as to make it incapable of attracting the efforts, or serving the purposes of bad men, it is possible to render it so powerless to accomplish good or restrain evil, that the average citizen can no longer be induced to take an active interest in it.

"There is much force in the argument that so long as each voter can directly affect the character and the conduct of his local government, his interest in it will be in proportion to the number, importance, and directness of the different ways in which that government serves and affects him. So far as he may come to regard it as his business agent he will want to guard and improve it. So far as it becomes the servile instrument of private corporations in which he has no voice or share, he will cease to respect and care for it. . . . If we want the people to develop higher civic ideals we must enlarge the scope and importance of their city government. If we want them to appreciate the advantages of intelligence and fidelity in their public servants, we must give those servants such duties and responsibilities that incompetence and dishonesty can neither be concealed nor endured."

In the present compact volume of nearly seven hundred pages we have a compilation of articles on municipal water works, electric and gas lighting plants, telephone monopolies and street railways, showing the abuses and waste that accompany private management and the savings and advantages accruing to the public from municipal ownership of what, by their nature, are municipal monopolies. Mr. M. N. Baker, of New York, contributes the article on water works; Prof. John R. Commons, of Syracuse University, writes a highly technical and extended chapter on municipal electric lighting that only the expert can satisfactorily analyze, and which is supplemented by articles by Prof. Bemis and F. A. C. Perrine; while Prof. Parsons, of the Boston Law School, and lately one of the faculty of the Kansas State Agricultural College, writes on the telephone and the legal aspects of monopoly, the latter a very able and readable presentation. Prof. Bemis reserves for himself the treatment of street railways and gas monopolies and also contributes the concluding chapter in which he measures the case for municipal regulation vs. municipal ownership as a remedy for admitted evils and finds regulation wanting.

A significant fact is that where municipal ownership has been tried it has been but rarely abandoned, while private ownership has oft been supplanted by public. In short, public ownership has rarely proven so unsatisfactory that the people have wanted to get rid of it; generally has it been so satisfactory and its advantages over private ownership so appreciated that the people have clung to it. Indeed, when public ownership has been given up it has usually been in the face of popular protest and where the will of the people has been overridden and scorned by a corrupt city council as in the case of the lease of the Philadelphia Gas Works in 1897. On the other hand, municipalities have very often sought in public ownership escape from extortion at the hands of private companies. Thus we find that "of the fifty largest cities in the United States, forty-one have public water works, nineteen of these have changed from private ownership, while only one large city, New Orleans, has changed from public to private management." And since the writing of this volume New Orleans has voted overwhelmingly for the building of a public water works.

Electrical lighting is largely in the ranks of private corporations and where there are municipal plants such usually confine their operations to street lighting, not competing with the private companies in house lighting. Still the number of municipal owned lighting plants is rapidly increasing, and in the first quarter of 1898 there were reported as in operation in the United States about 353 public plants as against 2,261 private plants, the public plants supplying about one-tenth of the arc lights in the country and about one-twentieth of the incandescent lights. Municipal ownership of gas plants has not made much progress in the United States, only eleven of the smaller cities having public plants, while municipal ownership of telephone systems and street railways has yet to be inaugurated on any considerable scale. But in Europe great progress has been made toward municipalization. Of all the gas used in England 36.4 per cent. is sold by publicly owned plants while 21 per cent. of the steel railway mileage is publicly operated.

Ungracious though it be, we feel constrained to say in conclusion that we mark a number of glaring typographical errors of a character such as evince carelessness or haste in preparation and occasion one a certain unconquerable uncertainty as to the reliability of the material facts set forth. That one should be given cause to feel any uneasiness over placing reliance in the accuracy of such facts and be deterred from citing them detracts terribly from the value of a work such as this. We here can but direct the attention of the editor to page 24, where in table III, 2.95 ought to read 52.88, to page 202, lines nine and ten, where there is something evidently wrong; to page 207, where \$1,119,689 ought to read \$1,919,689; to page 272, where \$162 ought to read \$102; to page 282, where 3,000 arc lights ought to read 300; to page 544, where in one place we would suggest the word horse be made to read street.

A True View of the Texas Ranger.

A Texas Ranger. By N. A. JENNINGS. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.25

The innumerable and nondescript tales of the "wild and woolly" West have about run their course and to-day they have become pretty much a drug on the market. Such stories, by mere repetition, become decidedly tame and insipid and the reader's old time zest is quite lacking. This is only natural, for with the march of time and civilization the lawless elements of society have given way to the law-abiding and peaceful citizen. No longer need the traveller tremble for life and property in the much talked of and abused western country, for no longer does the old order of things exist there. The desperado can only flourish in new and thinly settled countries beyond the reach of the strong hand of government. So to-day this romantic individual and "Knight of the Road" is seldom met with outside the realm of the sensational dime novel.

Mr. Jennings seems to realize and recognize changed conditions, and setting his sails to the wind that blows presents the story of lawlessness and crime in a new and attractive garb. He knows that the people still love the exciting and exhilarating deeds of the dare-devil man, and having marked the growing lack of interest in the Cy Warman class of novel, has had the good sense to tickle the public fancy with something brand new. His story from very contrast is quite refreshing, doubly so when we discover the several chapters are taken from real life and personal experience. Our author was one of those deluded indi-

viduals who saw countless wealth in the new and broad fields of Texas, and giving way to his fanciful imagination left home and position in pursuit of that fickle goddess of fortune that has led so many along the road to destruction. As might have been expected his hopes were the mere dreams of exuberant youth and we find our young friend after many vicissitudes glad to cast his lot and fortune with a troop of Texas Rangers. There he soon got a life of ample adventure and unbounded excitement. Of this life Mr. Jennings now writes, that due credit may be given the brave and worthy men who made up the far famed Texas Rangers of a generation ago. We doubt if the true history and work of these men has ever before been given to the public. While all have heard of this body of men few know that to them almost alone is due the peaceful life of the present day Texan. The Texas Ranger whipped the desperado and lawless element, both American and Mexican, into shape with tireless energy and conspicuous bravery at a time when a man's life was not worth the toss of a coin. The work accomplished in the face of seemingly insurmountable obstacles by this little band of resolute men reads like the fairy tales of one's childhood. Speaking on this point our author remarks:

"Less than fifty young men had done more to enforce order on the Rio Grande than thousands of the United States troops had been able to do in years. Tireless riding, deadly shooting and utter disregard for danger, caused the Rangers to be dreaded by evil doers, far and wide. * * * We were boys, not only in appearance, but in our amusements as well. I do not remember any instance where practical joking led to bad feeling between the joker and his victim. Reckless and daring though they were, ever ready to jump into the middle of a fight against a common enemy, the Rangers seldom or never quarreled among themselves. We were like a great band of brothers, and our affection for each other was genuine. There was not an unpopular man in the troop. All were received into the common brotherhood. There was no backbiting, there were no petty jealousies."

Many of Roosevelt's "Rough Riders" were old time Rangers and their work in Cuba amply speaks for the courage and resourcefulness of these men. All honor to the Texas Ranger. Mr. Jennings' book is an interesting, realistic and valuable memoir, well worth the reading.

BRIEFER NOTICES.

A Girl of Grit. A Story of the Intelligence Department. By MAJOR ARTHUR GRIFFITHS. New York: R. F. Fenno & Co. 75 cents.

Sudden accession to great wealth has its disadvantages no less than extreme poverty. Indeed, it is quite difficult to come to any satisfactory conclusion as to which extreme is the greater burden. However, poverty is such a prevalent disease that most of us may speak from bitter personal experience and bemoan the hard fate that holds us down to a life of toil and trouble. Still, this class of people are spared the many unpleasant events and responsibilities that follow, as a matter of course, in the foot-steps of the golden calf. It will not be amiss for him who hankers after wealth and the luxury and ease that may be purchased by it to read with some degree of attention Major Griffith's clever little story. The novel is of the detective variety recounting the wonderful sleuth-like zeal and success of the men who get their living by bringing criminals to justice. If the story stopped here it would have no individual and distinctive interest, for the ground of the pure detective story has been well tilled. But our author goes one step further and brings into his plot an international episode. The theft of important government papers and their recovery on the high seas from a transatlantic liner, in the nick of time, through the agency of a twenty-three knot cruiser, is a decidedly unique, even though a little far fetched, departure. The book has the additional and uncommon advantage of telling the story in as few words as possible and there resting its case.

Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam. With preface by NATHAN HASKELL DOLE. Portland, Me.: Thomas B. Mosher. 25 cents net.

The old Persian philosopher owes his renown to poor Fitzgerald, and mankind is indebted to both, certainly not less to the latter than to the former, for as beautiful, profound and immortal a piece as literature can boast. There are editions galore of the Rubaiyat, still the demand seems to equal the supply. Before us is a handsomely gotten up and beautifully printed little pocket volume, giving the poem in Fitzgerald's final version, together

with his notes. But the special features of this edition are the introduction by Nathan Haskell Dole, who has probably made a closer study of Omar than any one else in America, and a pronouncing vocabulary and translation of all the Persian names occurring in the text, which must prove of great assistance and value to all who read and study the Rubaiyat with the attention it so richly deserves.

One opinion finds place in Mr. Dole's introduction with which we cannot agree. Speaking of the great popularity of the Rubaiyat, he says: "It may be asked what is the cause of this extraordinary vogue of a poem which, in its baldest aspect, teaches a hopeless pessimism, an Epicurean philosophy of seizing present pleasures because to-morrow we die, a Pagan poem, if one will." To us there is a vein of profound faith, far transcending even the uttermost bounds of hope, running throughout the poem, at times concealed, but ever present and here and there rising to the surface with an irresistible force. Take for example the twenty-fifth quatrain:

Alike for those who for To-day prepare,
And those that after some To-morrow stare,
A Muezzin from the Tower of Darkness cries,
"Fools! your Reward is neither Here nor There."

There is fatalism here and philosophy as well as faith, but what if not faith, boundless faith in the Infinite, is the burden of this the seventieth stanza:

The Ball no question makes of Ayes and Noes,
But Here or There as strikes the Player goes;
And He that toss'd you down into the Field,
He knows about it all—He knows—HE knows!

And surely the man who found "Heaven and Hell" within his own soul could scarce be hopeless by nature!

On the Birds' Highway. By REGINALD HEBER HOWE, JR. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co. \$2 00.

A beautiful little book, and just such a one as finds its proper place on the centre table, where it may be picked up to occupy the few stray minutes we all have now and then. It is the kind of a book one likes to look through, reading a chapter here and there. Mr. Howe gives us some very pretty and exceedingly true pictures of bits of nature, enlivening them with the presence of birds. These he sketches in a few words, often in a sentence, but so truthfully and naturally that anyone familiar with the living birds and their ways could not fail to know which he speaks of, even though their names were omitted. The author is one of those who loves nature and appreciates her to the full, and if we judge aright is also fortunate in being able to follow his bent freely and without hindrance, a privilege which he is making full use of. The beautiful colored frontispiece plate of chickadees, the work of the rarely gifted Louis Agassiz Fuertes, is scarcely more a feature of the book than the dozen excellent full page half tone illustrations and the numerous marginal ones from photographs by the author.

In Cloisters Dim. By CHARLES CURTZ HAHN. Omaha, Neb.: Burkley Printing Company.

Belief and trust in God, as clearly and at times sweetly shown within every one of the poems contained in this little book of "Religious Verse," demonstrates the highest attainment of a life of full abiding. By glancing them carefully over it seems that these poems were printed in some great haste, as if to meet the wishes of some friends or fellow believers. It would also appear that the book is not by any means complete, there being quite a number of little deficiencies which, as a rule, seem to be avoided in the ordinary run of books that go out into the world. Each of the poems in this little volume suggest, however, sincerity of belief above all. Some may criticise the poetry and its aim, others may regard it as an evidence of blind faith, abnormality of mind or indolence of thought. But no matter what the teaching of science or what the modern age may call it, it does honor to the monk, that ardent admirer and worshipper of "Mater Dolorosa" and other maters as sweet and pure, that having absolutely renounced the world and earthly ambition and happiness he yet is or seems to be contented because of his faith. How touching to see a man as happy in "A Dream of Solitude" as others would be within the gaieties of Paris life. Most of the poetical outpourings here seem to have special reference to the Psalms, each of the thirteen chapters having, with a few exceptions, titles accordingly. Some of these poems are really sweet,

others, of course, may be found so according to the taste and the training of the reader, and all have a poetic value that will unquestionably find them admirers, though in different directions and from different standpoints.

The Pure Causeway. By EVELYN HARVEY ROBERTS. Chicago: CHARLES H. Kerr & Co. 50 cents.

Before us is a thoughtful and instructive little treatise dealing with the unnatural and onerous present day conditions, and pointing out the happy future that is ours if we but strive for it. The dreams of the most ardent reformer are sure of attainment, the author tells us, if a few people will take upon themselves the thankless task of blazing the way. But to do so they must put firmly to one side all thought of self, behind them all desire for wealth and position, and devote their entire time and ability, without expectation of remuneration or applause, to the restoration of the Kingdom of God in the hearts of their fellow men. No one can take exception to our author's views for they are founded on the glowing table rock of faith, hope and charity, as taught to the sinning world by Him who died for us upon the Cross. We only hope that this little book may fall on fertile ground, that it may induce our people to look within themselves for that which they demand in others, until they realize that a man can serve himself truly only as he serves his brother man.

Packington. By A. M. SIMONS. Chicago: Chas. H. Kerr & Co. 5 cents.

A booklet of 42 small pages on the Union Stock Yards and Packing Houses of Chicago, the lives of the workers and the conditions under which they toil; how the forces of nature are harnessed so the labor employed yields wonderful results and how, nevertheless, the laborers manage to exist but in the direst poverty because working under a system that strips them of a great share of the fruits of their toil. Written from the socialistic standpoint by one living but next door to if not amidst the scenes he describes and well acquainted with the workers of "Packington" and their lives.

What Socialism Means. By SIDNEY WEBB. New York: International Publishing Company. 5 cents.

There is something significantly suggestive in this word "International"—this 16 page brochure is one of a series known as the International Library as well as being published by the International Publishing Company—of that workingmen's association that a generation ago was the dread of the occupants of all thrones and their dependents, and only ceased to be poignantly feared when some twenty odd years ago, at an international conference held in Brussels, Karl Marx resolved on driving out the Anarchists who were playing a prominent part in the affairs of the society, though it should cost the life of the society itself. And he succeeded, he drove them out but at the same time a blow was struck the society from which it never has recovered. From that day the International Association dwindled until it is almost a thing of the past, no longer the terror of monarchical Europe.

We have here an introductory lecture to socialism, "a call to the unconverted," by Sidney Webb, one of the leaders of the Fabians of England, who pride themselves on what they choose to call their advocacy of practical socialism, their active championship of socialistic measures. To spurn half way steps, to oppose measures tending in the direction of socialism because they do not lead at once to socialist ideals they hold to be unreasonable. To the socialistic ideals, carried out to their logical conclusion, they profess unwavering loyalty, but they hold them rather as "ideals which we hope to realize one day—not perhaps in our own lives, but living again in lives to come" and "while repudiating, as unscientific, the idea that any mere palliative of existing evils can effect a cure of them, they are constantly urging the adoption of every practical measure of immediate relief," so that "it is in his principles rather than in his practical politics that the Fabian differs from the mere 'social reformer.'"

A Step Forward. A Treatise on Possible Social Reform By F. C. THEO. KRUGER. New York: Isaac H. Blanchard Co.

A plea for the abolition of the private practice of physician and lawyer that a golden era may be inaugurated when all will be public practitioners, paid at public expense, and the poor accorded as efficient treatment and service in their ills and troubles as the rich, for "neither physician or lawyer should be influenced in the treatment of a case by a consideration of the

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money to be earned by such treatment. Both . . . should be appointed and paid by the state or community, and be thereby placed above temptation to prostitute their great professions, and use them merely as a means to enrich themselves."

"Why should a physician be compelled to depend on our being sick for making his living? Aye, why should he be compelled to wish for plenty of sickness so that he may have a chance to earn plenty of money? Why should we not enable our physicians to be guardians of our health, to preserve it for us, to prevent sickness by timely advice and help, instead of allowing them to live by our sickness, as it were; yes to prosper and get rich by plenty of it."

Again, by our present system of remunerating lawyers do we tempt lawyers to frame laws that can be broken and break the laws laws that are made, for in proportion as our legal ills and difficulties grow do they prosper. "All our anti-trust laws are evidently good for nothing, and this should not surprise us, if we remember that these laws are framed and made by lawyers who may, some day, have a chance to make a fortune, by helping in the formation, or defending the existence, of a corporation that must evade these same laws." "We either must take the law making out of the hands of lawyers, * * * or we must obtain lawyers who have no financial interest whatever in the framing and promulgation of bad and easily evaded laws;" that is, we must employ all lawyers as public servants and pay them at public expense.

Such is the drift of this treatise, original in thought and well worth reading. It has all the earmarks of a pamphlet gotten up not to sell but for private circulation by one who loves his fellow-men and with the hope that the spreading of his views may in some degree aid in the uplifting of mankind.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

GRAMMAR SCHOOL ALGEBRA. By William J. Milne. Pp. 154. New York: American Book Company. 50 cents.

PLANE GEOMETRY. By William J. Milne. Pp. 242. New York: American Book Company. 75 cents.

PLANE AND SOLID GEOMETRY. By William J. Milne. Pp. 384. New York: American Book Company. \$1.25.

FROM SEA TO SEA. Letters of Travel. By Rudyard Kipling. 2 vols. Pp. 460, 400. New York: Doubleday & McClure Co. \$2.00.

PATRIOTIC NUGGETS. Selections from Franklin, Washington, Jefferson, Webster, Lincoln, Beecher, gathered by John R. Howard. Pp. 204. New York: Fords, Howard & Hulbert. 40 cents.

THE GREAT AWAKENING. The story of the Twenty-second Century. By Albert Adams Merrill. Pp. 345. Boston: George Book Publishing Company. \$1.25.

JAPAN IN TRANSITION. By Stafford Ransome. Pp. 261, illustrated. New York: Harper & Brothers. \$3.

INTERVIEWS WITH LEADING BUSINESS MEN. By L. F. George. Pp. 298. Chicago: Howard & Wilson Publishing Company. 50 cents.

FIGHTING IN THE PHILIPPINES. Authentic original photographs. New York: F. Tennyson Neely. 25 cents

ONE THOUSAND WAYS TO MAKE MONEY. By Page Fox. Pp. 331. New York: F. Tennyson Neely. 25 cents.

PHILLIPS BROOKS. By M. A. De Wolfe Howe. "The Beacon Biographies." Pp. 120. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co. 75 cents.

DAVID G. FARRAGUT. By James Barnes. "The Beacon Biographies." Pp. 132. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co. 75 cents.

ROBERT E. LEE. By William P. Trent. "The Beacon Biographies." Pp. 135. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co. 75 cents.

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL. By Edward Everett Hale, Jr. "The Beacon Biographies." Pp. 128. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co. 75 cents.

DANIEL WEBSTER. By Norman Hapgood. "The Beacon Biographies." Pp. 119. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co. 75 cents.

THE BUSHWHACKERS AND OTHER STORIES. By Charles Egbert Craddock. Pp. 312. Chicago: H. S. Stone & Co. \$1.25.

IN CASTLE AND COLONY. By Emma Rayner. Pp. 467. Chicago: H. S. Stone & Co. \$1.50.

FIELD KEY TO THE LAND BIRDS. By Edward Knobel. Pp. 55, illustrated. Boston: Bradlee Whidden. \$1.75, net.

THE GRASSES, SEDGES AND RUSHES of the Northern United States. By Edward Knobel. Pp. 78, illustrated. Boston: Bradlee Whidden. \$1, net.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE. What it is, what is new and what is true about it. By Rev. William Short. Pp. 63. New York: Thomas Whittaker. 25 cents.

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In construction it represents the best obtainable material put together in the light of 57 years' experience as lamp-builders. In operation it yields for 10 hours a wonderful flood of white, penetrating, unwinking light, which winds and jolts are alike powerless to quench. Upon receipt of \$2.50 we will send it by mail, prepaid, to any address. A little circular will give you all of its strong points. Shall we mail it?

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New Methods of Advertising.

Railway companies are adopting new and unique methods of advertising, as is demonstrated by the publication in the Four Track Series of the New York Central Road, of what is now becoming widely known and somewhat famous "A Message to Garcia," by Elbert Hubbard, of the *Philistine Magazine*, which itself is a peculiar and interesting publication as relating to magazines of the present day.

This article is attracting widespread attention, and has been answered by a writer in *The Mirror*, published at St. Louis, under date of June 15, 1899, entitled "A Message to Hubbard," which gives the other side of the American employee.

The Southern Railway, the leading Southern system, spreading from Washington to the Mississippi River, and grid-ironing the South, and the only line to "The Land of the Sky" section of western North Carolina, has also issued a publication out of the ordinary, in the shape of an attractive booklet entitled "A Night on Mount Mitchell," by Henry Litchfield West, one of the leading editorial and political writers of the *Washington Post*, a paper widely and favorably known for the ability displayed in its editorial and political columns. This story is a description of an ascension to the very top of Mount Mitchell, which is the highest mountain peak east of the Rocky Mountains, and 400 feet higher than Mount Washington, upon which has been erected a monument to Professor Mitchell, after whom the mountain is named.

The story is replete with interest, and thrilling in detailing a trip which may be taken by any traveller for health or pleasure, and reminds one of Talmage's description of Lookout Mountain, when he stood upon its heights and delivered the following oration, which is reproduced for its graphic description of a location famous in American history:

"The carriage wound its way up, up, up. Standing there on the tip-top rock, I saw five states of the Union. Scenes stupendous and overwhelming. One almost is disposed to take off his hat in the presence of what seems to be the grandest prospect of this continent. There is Missionary Ridge, the beach against which the red billows of Federal and Confederate courage surged and broke. There are the blue mountains of North and South Carolina. With strain of vision, there is Kentucky, there is Virginia. At our feet, Chattanooga and Chickamauga, the pronunciation of which proper names will thrill ages to come with thoughts of valor and desperation and agony. Looking each way, and any way, from the top of that mountain, earthworks, earthworks—the beautiful Tennessee winding through the valley, curling and coiling around, making letter "S" after letter "S," as if that letter stood for shame, that brothers should have gone into massacre with each other, while God and nations looked on. I have stood on Mount Washington, and on the Sierra Nevadas, and on the Alps, but I never saw so far as from the top of Lookout Mountain."

Copies of this booklet and other interesting publications on "The Land of the Sky" section and "Lookout Mountain" may be obtained from Mr. W. A. Turk, General Passenger Agent, Southern Railway, Washington, D. C., or Charles L. Hopkins, District Passenger Agent, Southern Railway, 828 Chestnut street, Philadelphia, Pa.—*Advt.*

DEAFNESS CANNOT BE CURED

by local applications, as they cannot reach the diseased portion of the ear. There is only one way to cure Deafness, and that is by constitutional remedies. Deafness is caused by an inflamed condition of the mucous lining of the Eustachian Tube. When this tube gets inflamed you have a rumbling sound or imperfect hearing, and when it is entirely closed, Deafness is the result, and unless the inflammation can be taken out and this tube restored to its normal condition, hearing will be destroyed forever; nine cases out of ten are caused by catarrh, which is nothing but an inflamed condition of the mucous surfaces.

We will give One Hundred Dollars for any case of Deafness (caused by catarrh) that cannot be cured by Hall's Catarrh Cure. Send for circulars, free.

Sold by Druggists, 75c. F. J. CHENEY & CO., Toledo, O.

Hall's Family Pills are the best.

ABOUT BOOKS AND WRITERS.

Longmans, Green & Co. have just published a book by Winston Spencer Churchill, a son of the late Lord Randolph Churchill, entitled "The River War." It is concerning British operations in the Soudan. The author should not be confused with Winston Churchill, whose last volume "Richard Carvel," is meeting with such great success.

Raymond & Whitcomb

TOURS AND TICKETS

Railroad and Steamship Tickets everywhere for individual travelers. Berth and stateroom accommodations reserved on all lines. Baggage checked from residence to destination.

Traveller's Condensed Guide, containing sailing dates, rates of steamer, railroad and sleeping car tickets, routes, &c., will be sent post free.

Some specimen trips from the Traveller's Guide:—

Hudson River, Lake Placid, Saranac Lake, Lakes Champlain and George, Saratoga, Albany.

Thousand Islands, St. Lawrence River and Rapids, Montreal, Quebec, Saguenay, White Mountains, Boston.

Washington, Luray Caverns, Natural Bridge, Richmond, Old Point Comfort.

Maine Steamship Line to Portland, Poland Spring House, Mount Kineo House, Moosehead Lake, Sorrento, Bar Harbor, Mount Desert, Boston.

Red Cross steamer to Halifax, Mulgrave, Bras d'Or Lakes, Baddeck, St. John, &c.

Red Cross steamer to Halifax, Charlottetown, Summerside, St. John, Yarmouth, Digby, Annapolis Valley, the Evangeline country, &c.

Buffalo, the Great Lakes, Duluth and return.

Buffalo, cruise through the Great Lakes, Duluth, St. Paul, Minneapolis, Yellowstone Park, Butte, Salt Lake City, Glenwood Springs, Colorado, Manitou Springs, Pike's Peak, Omaha, Chicago.

Buffalo, the Great Lakes, Duluth, St. Paul, Minneapolis, Yellowstone Park, Tacoma, Seattle, Victoria, Portland, San Francisco, Los Angeles &c., Salt Lake City, Denver, Colorado Springs, Manitou, Pike's Peak, Omaha.

Glasgow to Comrie by rail, coach to Lochearnhead, rail to Crianlarich, coach to Ardlui, steamer on Loch Lomond to Iversnaid, thence through the Trossachs to Callander and home by rail, or vice versa.

Glasgow to Gourock by rail, thence by steamer and coach via Lochgoilhead and Iverary to Dalmally, rail to Oban, steamer to Ballachulish, coach via Glencoe to Lochetivehead, steamer to Ach-na-cloich and home by rail, or vice versa.

London, Dover, Calais, Paris, Dijon, Lyons (or Clermont), Ferrand, Vichy (or Macon), Culoz, Modane, Chiasso, Bellinzona, Airole, Goeschenen (for Andermatt), Fluelen, Arth Goldau (for the Rigi), Lucerne, Zurich or Olten, Bale, Delle, (or Mulhausen), Belefort, Troyes, &c.

Our tours, providing for every travelling and hotel expense for a specified time, yet allowing the passenger full stop-over privileges, offer the best opportunity for comfortable and leisurely travel. Everything in connection with these tours is first-class. Cheap prices usually mean cheap accommodations. Tours to all parts of the world in season—Yellowstone Park, Great Lakes, California, Colorado, Eastern and Canadian Resorts, Europe, Hawaii, Japan, China, around the world, &c.

We have completed arrangements for the accommodation of those who desire to visit the Paris Universal Exposition of 1900. Our plans contemplate not only steamship transportation to or from Europe, but also hotel accommodations, with board, admission to the Exposition, railway transportation, transfers in Paris, sight seeing advantages, &c., so that the visitor may have every needed expense covered and know in advance precisely what the entire trip is to cost. The Trocadero Hotels, where we will provide accommodations for our patrons, occupy a commanding position above the Seine and near the most interesting part of the Exposition grounds. Applicants can select their own period of sojourn in Paris if early application is made, remaining one, two, three or more weeks, as may be desired. It is important to secure accommodations early. Special circular.

OUR TRAVEL INFORMATION BUREAU contains descriptive and illustrated matter about hotels, hunting, fishing, health and pleasure resorts, and is maintained for the convenience of the travelling public.

When writing for circulars please state information desired.

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Tours and Tickets,

1005 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa.

Charles Scribner's Sons will publish shortly the concluding volume of Donald G. Mitchell's "American Lands and Letters." In it will be described those American writers of the past generation with whom Mr. Mitchell was personally acquainted.

**

Fords, Howard & Hulbert have just published a volume entitled "Patriot Nuggets;" selections from Franklin, Washington, Jefferson, Webster, Lincoln and Beecher, compiled by John R. Howard, and containing a portrait of Washington. They also publish a new edition, revised and enlarged, of the successful "Don't-Worry Nuggets," compiled by Jeanne G. Pennington.

**

Arrangements have been made to translate into French Mr. Brooks Adams' notable work on "The Law of Civilization and Decay," which is published by The Macmillan Company. It is now in its second and revised edition. It is proposed to use it in economic courses in several of the larger universities in France.

**

Dodd, Mead & Co., will shortly reprint, from the first London edition, "The Life of Charlotte Brontë," by Mrs. Gaskell,

The American's Special Clubs

It is highly important that all straight Populist papers shall obtain the largest possible circulations. To help secure this we have made special arrangements which enable you to get the leading papers at the very minimum cost.

The regular subscription price of THE AMERICAN is \$2.00 per annum. We now offer to send it, together with any one of the following named papers, for the amount stated opposite the name of each paper respectively, to wit:—with

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club of ten	5.00
THE AMERICAN, for one year	
club of five,	\$5.00
club of ten	8.00



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Endorsed by Physicians and recommended by Editors of Leading Periodicals.
Cures Catarrh, Cold in the Head, Headache, Neuralgia, Sore Throat, Hay Fever, Asthma, Bronchitis and Irritation of the Air Passage. Is also of great value in Croup and Inflammation of the Larynx.

Testimonials:

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"I ordered from you a few weeks ago an Inhaler outfit. It helped me wonderfully. I went home two weeks ago and found my son suffering from Catarrh, so I gave him my Inhaler. I want you to send me another one. Find enclosed postage for same. I believe it will cure me."

W. D. DAVIDSON, 936 Market Street.

OGDEN, UTAH, Oct. 18, 1898.

"I have received your Inhaler and find that it gives positively good service."

WILLIAM GLASMAN, Editor The Standard.

NEW WHATCOM, WASH., Jan. 22, 1899.

"Having used your Inhaler and Catarrh Cure. I think it is helping me more than anything I ever took before. I have persuaded two of my friends to let me send for them too. This place out here is the worst I ever saw for Catarrh. The climate is so damp and there are only a few people who do not have some form of Catarrh. Thanking you once more, I remain."

MISS A WALLACE.

Price of Complete Outfit, postpaid, \$1.00.

Every box contains a guarantee to be as represented, to cure Catarrh, or money refunded to purchaser.

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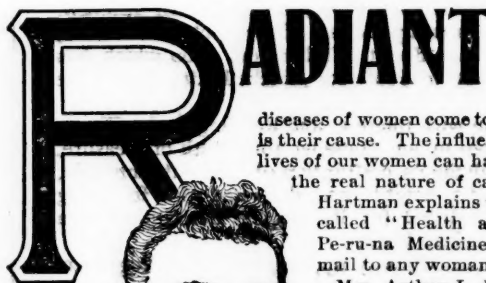
with notes by Clement Shorter, which will include the much discussed suppressed chapters.

**

"State Trials, Political and Social," selected and edited by H. L. Stephen, of the Inner Temple, London, is the title of a two volume work to be published by The Macmillan Company at an early date. The editor has tried to bring the atmosphere of the Crown Court into the study and to enable us as it were to take a contemporary interest in the men and women long since dead on the block or the gallows. They will also publish Prof. George H. Carpenter's "Insects, their Structure and Life," a primer of entomology, designed as a small, inexpensive text-book, sketching in outline the whole subject of entomology. The book is profusely illustrated with about 200 drawings.

Consider the Lilies.

The trying troubles of women result from catarrh.—Mrs. Colonel Hamilton and others recommend Pe-ru-na.



health in women is a rare thing. It is not alone those who toil and spin that suffer from catarrhal troubles; the

diseases of women come to rich and poor and catarrh is their cause. The influence of catarrh on the home lives of our women can hardly be appreciated until the real nature of catarrh is understood. Dr.

Hartman explains this to women in his book called "Health and Beauty," which the Pe-ru-na Medicine Co., Columbus, O., will mail to any woman on application.

Mrs. Arthur L. Hamilton, wife of Colonel Hamilton of the Seventeenth Regiment Ohio National Guard, and whose residence is at 309 West First Ave., Columbus, O., writes the following about Pe-ru-na, Dr. Hartman's scientific remedy for catarrh:

"I can bear testimony as to the merits of your remedy Pe-ru-na. I have been taking the same for some time, and am enjoying better health now than I have for some years. I attribute the change to Pe-ru-na, and recommend Pe-ru-na to every woman, believing it to be especially beneficial to them."

Mrs. Hamilton's picture is printed here, and her statements about Pe-ru-na find echo in the hearts of women the country through.

"It gives me much pleasure," writes Mrs. J. A. Bashor of Knoxville, Tenn., "to recommend to the public such a valuable remedy as Pe-ru-na."

"My health was completely broken down, and had been for almost a year. I could not rest day or night, but suffered constantly untold misery. Tried remedy after remedy, but found no relief until Pe-ru-na was recommended to me by a friend. I have taken one and a half bottles and am to-day well and hearty. I shall always praise Pe-ru-na, for I feel it saved my life."

Miss Belle Gunsalis, No. 208 Seventeenth Ave., Cedar Rapids, Iowa, writes to Dr. Hartman: "Your medicine cured me of chronic catarrh affecting the head, nose and throat, which I was afflicted with for five or six years, growing worse all the time, until I began taking your Pe-ru-na. Independent of curing my catarrh, Pe-ru-na has wonderfully improved my general health."

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You will get a little book, with arguments for our Position, Platforms, National and State Plans of Organization, with FULL DIRECTIONS FOR FORMING CLUBS. You will also get blank pages for use of your club. You will thus start a circulating library, reflecting the views of every voter of every political party in your precinct. Every voter will receive it.

Your ticket will save true men otherwise lost. There has never been anything like this. No political method so novel; none so successful. It well befits the only party that has ever offered our people full liberty, equal rights and united power; it delivers these goods before election. It makes no promise it does not fulfill. Nothing can resist it. It is suitable for any state.

Will you, in 1900, be one of the proud victors who can say, "It was my nickel that first sounded the death-warrant, in my precinct, of both old party machines, or rather of the same machine bearing two different names."